

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE

TWELFTH YEAR

No. 32

National Edition (4 pages), 50 cents a Year in Advance
Wisconsin Edition (5 pages), \$1.00 a Year; Six Months 50 cents

PURPOSELY PUBLISHED FOR PROPAGANDA



COMING CIVILIZATION

ESTABLISHED 1898

WHOLE NUMBER 592

Socialism Grows Fast
ON the liner Mauretania, which arrived here yesterday from Queenstown and Liverpool, came W. A. Clark, formerly United States senator from Montana, with a story of the astounding growth of Socialism.

"England is going along at a very fair rate of progress," said Senator Clark, "but is now, of course, much upset by the budget question; enough so that there are few industries of that country which are not much affected."

"Socialism shows itself very strongly in the matter. In fact, everywhere in Europe there are signs of Socialistic growth. Not only is the movement spreading over all England, but there are few places on the continent which have not shown tremendous strides in the movement in the last decade. In France the government is Socialistic to a remarkable degree." — New York Dispatch.

Comment on Passing Events

By Frederic Heath

Lands-downe et al may in time discover that the jig is up!

The abolition of the house of lords in England would make itself felt in this country. It would make certain a speedy result of the Socialists' demand for the abolition of the American plutocratic senate.

Upton Sinclair, author of *The Jungle*, will, with the January number, become an associate editor on *Bernard Macfadden's Physical Culture* magazine. He is at present contributing a serial story to that fine publication.

The veteran poet, Joaquin Miller, speaking the other day to the convicts at San Quentin, Cal., said that Roosevelt's policy of the strenuous life was responsible for much of the evils and crimes that today send men to prison. That's a hard one on Tumbo.

At Sacramento, Cal., Judge Hughes imposed a novel sentence upon Claude Wood, chauffeur, convicted of manslaughter for running over and killing James F. Smith. Judge Hughes sentenced Wood to ten years in the penitentiary and at the same time ordered that the commitment be stayed and the defendant placed on probation, upon condition that Wood contribute \$25 a month toward the support of the five children he made fatherless by his reckless driving.

The free speech fight of the trade unionists and Socialists at Spokane, Wash., still continues and the excitement does not die down. As fast as the men and women get up to speak on the streets they are marched off to jail. There is no disorder, one policeman frequently arresting and taking seven or eight with him at one time. It is told of one officer after he got his bunch of unresisting arrests to the station, that he asked one of them whether he was one of those he had arrested. The man did not take advantage of his uncertainty, but assured him that he was indeed under arrest and ready to be locked up.

Under the pressure of the Labor party, the Liberal cabinet was compelled to advance from step to step. Factory legislation and the right of workingmen to damages in case of accident were very much extended.

The best old age pension bill yet enacted was passed.

And last but not least, Mr. Lloyd-George, the Liberal finance minister, brought in his famous income tax measure, which means the beginning of a new period in the history of England.

Why? Because the principle of this tax means the confiscation of a good share of the "unearned increment" — and that as high as twenty-five per cent. of the entire income of the rich lords and capitalists shall go to the state as income tax.

Because more than the act itself — which is not as severe as it looks — the motives and the arguments behind it scare the lords and the capitalists. These show the strongest evidence of the awakening of the social conscience.

Mr. Lloyd-George — himself a Liberal, and not a Socialist — said in bold language, that they, the rich people of England, particularly the aristocracy, had escaped taxation long enough. He told the Lords that it cost England more a year to keep a duke than to build a dreadnaught. And that, besides the duke being infinitely less useful and infinitely less ornamental, the expense for building the dreadnaught occurred only once, while the expense for keeping the duke has continued for centuries and still continues.

Moreover, he told them that old age pensions for workingmen cost a great deal of money and that those who had it would have to pay in the future.

Now, such talk from a Liberal minister, a man representing an influential and wealthy wing of the capitalist class, would have been simply impossible ten years ago in England.

It is unquestionably the result of the Socialist agitation and the awakened social conscience. And the lords and the capitalists are right when they describe this kind of legislation and this kind of an

argument as absolutely Socialistic and as the beginning of the end if they should not be able to stop it.

Especially if we also consider that the Socialists plainly told them that they would not rest until the entire "unearned increment" was confiscated.

* * *

And they will not be able to stop it.

Very conservative statesmen and very influential lords, like Lord Rosebery — former prime minister and a man who left the Liberal party on account of what he called its Socialistic tendencies — has lately advised the lords to accept the inevitable and adopt the budget.

He fears, if they do not, that the love of the English proletariat for the Labor party will grow very much more and the love of the English middle class for the lords will grow very much less.

The next step will be the abolition of the House of Lords and of the hereditary law makers in England.

* * *

For Rosebery knows well enough that Lloyd-George and the Liberal ministry did not bring in this finance bill because they love the workingmen — in fact they taxed his tobacco, his brandy and his beer.

Nor do they propose this measure because they want to be reformers. The Liberal party in England never reformed anything.

The Liberals propose it because both the dreadnaught and the old age pensions cost money. The English ruling class does not want to go without the dreadnaught, and it cannot drop the old age pensions.

That is the situation in England today.

* * *

Therefore, it matters little which way the House of Lords decided last Wednesday. Either way the decision was bound to help the Labor party and the Socialist movement.

There are only two or three of the Labor representatives who still

Capitalism's Daily Reign of Torment

Destitution Grows.

New York.—More than 30,000 calls from destitute families and homeless men and women during the year ending Sept. 30, 1900, are reported by Charles K. Blatchley, superintendent of the Joint Application bureau maintained at 105 East Twenty-second street by the Charity Organization society and the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Capitalist Defend a Thief.

New York.—Col. Edward E. Britton and Frederick H. Schroeder, the former president and vice-president, respectively, of the Eagle Savings and Loan company, who were convicted last March of the larceny of \$4,000 from the company in which they were owners, were taken to Sing Sing prison yesterday.

Col. Britton is one of the best-known National Guard officers in the country and has written books on military tactics, on which subject he is regarded as an authority.

The Living Death.

Clifford G. Roe of Chicago, formerly assistant state's attorney of Cook county, in an address recently on the white slave traffic, brought the parents face to face with their responsibility in the matter. He declared that ignorance of many girls of the things they ought to know about themselves caused them to be easy prey to the procurers.

"Fathers," he said, "take more care of their horses, their sheep and their

England is one of the two countries in the world where the factory proletariat forms a majority of the population — the other country is Germany. And the English proletariat is aroused as never before.

There are only two factors helping the lords and the capitalists. One is the High church of England and the other is the liquor interest.

The liquor crowd is very influential with the working class of England. Without these factors in their favor, even the most combative of the lords would not dream of resistance.

As it is, the Liberal majority, being between two fires — between the Labor party and the Tories — may be led astray.

However, the Labor party is bound to gain. Democracy is bound to grow.

And we may see, as in 1832, the queer spectacle of a Tory minister carrying out the legislation of the Radicals.

And they are a fine set of men, these proletarians in parliament — these law makers who have graduated into Parliament from the newspaper office, from the printing shop, from the mine, from the machine's bench.

They have among them the most convincing speakers of the House of Commons. Theirs is not the oratory of a lawyer, but the expression of common sense. You hear no fine phrases, but you hear arguments that fall like sledge hammers upon the opponent. They are generally respected by both their Conservative and Liberal adversaries.

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dangerous to the damage claims of "girls who think it smart to flirt are in constant and deadly danger. Ambition in a girl is one of the things which bring them to their ruin."

He charged the low wages paid the girls in the big city stores as being the excuse of many girls' downfall. He said that it is impossible for girls to live on some of the wages paid and they choose the easier way. — Ex.

Prosperity!

"PEACE and PLENTY of bounteous crops and great industrial production animates a cheerful and resolute people to all the renewed energies of BENEFICENT INDUSTRY and material and moral progress. It is altogether fitting that we should humbly and GRATEFULLY acknowledge the divine source of those blessings." — President Taft's Thanksgiving Proclamation.

Thanksgiving Joy.

New York.—While on his way to the Salvation army headquarters to get a Thanksgiving dinner, John Devoy, homeless and friendless, collapsed and a few hours later died from starvation. Before expiring Devoy told the hospital doctors that he had had scarcely a mouthful of food in a week and his emaciated condition tended to confirm this. Unable to obtain work, he had slept in doorways.

Capitalistic Tactics.

Cherry, Ill., Nov. 27.—The sealing of the St. Paul mine board is looked on as

adhere to the Liberal party, among them John Bell of the Railway Servants, and W. C. Steadman, the secretary of the Parliamentary Labor Committee.

Now, these men have always voted with the Labor party, and Steadman particularly has served in parliament for over sixteen years. He has done a great deal for the working class in that time.

However, I happened to be present in the smoking room of the House of Commons when two of the leaders of the Labor party, Shackleton and Henderson, read the riot act to the old veteran Steadman. He was told in plain words that in the future he would have to sever all political connection with the Liberal party (including Mr. Lloyd-George) and ally himself absolutely and unconditionally with the Labor party.

Shold he, Steadman, not do so, the Labor party would put up a man against him in his district. And moreover, the trades unions would take him off the Parliamentary committee, from which his sustenance comes — the members of Parliament receiving no pay.

In vain pleaded Steadman, who, while he may know only a little about history and political economy, is an honest old soul.

He pointed out that he had voted for all the measures of the Labor party, that he was a better Socialist than some of them, and that he would bolt the Liberal party whenever it would go against the measures of the Labor party.

"Bill" was told again in strong words and in presence of "the American" that this fight in Parliament was a *class fight* and the *expression of a class struggle*, and that he, Steadman, could not be on both sides of. And that *no man* was enough of a colossus to stretch his feet across the chasm dividing

I have no criticism of the Social-Democratic Federation of England. The only member of parliament it has (Will Thorne) works in perfect harmony with the Labor party.

However, I believe that since

there is practically no difference in principle or in vital tactics between the Social-Democratic Federation (the Hyndman - Quelch faction) and the Independent Labor party (the Keir Hardie-Barnes faction), they would do best to unite, and thus make their influence felt to much better advantage upon the labor movement in England.

Besides the men mentioned, I met

Keir Hardie, George N. Barnes,

George Roberts, the secretary of the Labor party, Harry Quelch, the editor of *Justice*, H. M. Hyndman, Francis Johnson, the secretary of the Independent Labor party, Belvoir Bax, and many others.

I spent many an intensely inter-

esting hour in the House of Commons. Together with Keir Hardie, I also attended a tremendous mass meeting of the suffragettes in the Albert Memorial hall. About all of these experiences I shall tell more in the future.

For this time I will only say that I liked England exceedingly well.

In no other country was I made to feel the pulse of the awakened social conscience and of a new democracy more directly than in England.

Besides — the world needs Eng-

land's strength and England's ex-

ample.

England was the first of the mod-

ern constitutional countries of the world and in many ways it is still the best.

And that will be readily under-

stood if we take into consideration that England's constitution is not an obsolete, reactionary and oppres-

sive document like ours. The Eng-

lish constitution is still a living and

still a growing force because it is

not a paper constitution. It can be

changed and amended — and often

is changed by act of Parliament.

In fact, the English constitution has

never been fixed on paper.

And, moreover and above every-

thing else — England does not per-

mit five justices of a so-called "Su-

preme Court" — all of whom are

former corporation lawyers and

some of whom may be common

crooks — to act as the death judges

of freedom and welfare and of all

legislation of the country.

The world's democracy, there-

fore — still needs the example of

England.

the interests of the working class from the interests of the capitalist class.

* * *

And mind you, the men who told him this were neither of them members of either of the two Socialist parties of England.

However, they understand the class struggle, even if they do not use the impossibilist phraseology. Therefore, they insist that the Labor party must be a class party and nothing else.

They support, as a matter of course, Lloyd-George's budget or any other measure that may be good for the Labor class. But they do not in any way ally themselves with the Liberals, or give up the identity of the Labor party.

Besides, there are some things I shall have to say for the English labor leaders and for the labor leaders of the European continent.

The most conservative of them is more class-conscious than the most radical of our trades union leaders.

And they are morally and politically clean, honest and conscientious. A case like that of John Mitchell, who gets a big salary from the Civic Federation — that is, from the employers — and then still claims to represent the working class and even acts as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, is simply impossible in any part of Europe.

And John Mitchell is not the only "re-adjuster," by a long way. Nor the worst of them, by any means.

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Immediate Demands

N. Y. Call (Editorial): The editorial article in this month's issue of the *International Socialist Review*, entitled "What Is the Matter With the Socialist Party," has already been touched upon in the editorial columns of the *Sunday Call* as well as in the two articles by William English Walling.

We refer to it again not because we attach to it the intrinsic importance that Comrade Walling ascribes to it, but merely because in the present state of our movement it is capable of doing much mischief.

At the outset we feel compelled to confess our inability to deal with the problems propounded by the *Review* in the summary fashion in which it deals with them.

We are mentally far too feeble and temperamentally far too sluggish to dispose of our entire policy by a series of very brief but very vigorous assertions.

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves for the present to the consideration of only one point, namely, "immediate demands."

The *Review* asserts: "Long enough have we experimented with 'immediate demands' that might swell our apparent strength by winning the votes of people opposed to revolution. . . . Let us cut the 'immediate demands' out of our platform and leave reformers to wrangle over reforms."

This sounds extremely revolutionary.

Let us not pay any attention to the condition and the needs of the great bulk of the working class, who are at present total strangers to the very idea of revolution, and we shall thereby become genuine revolutionaries.

Let us ignore the actual processes of social life. Let us study nothing, know nothing, propose nothing, "wrangle" over nothing, and we shall be perfectly unanimous and thoroughly revolutionary.

We dare say that no such proposal was ever made to any Socialist party in any country in Europe since the publication of the Communist Manifesto. It is an emanation of that good bourgeois entity, the "American spirit." This proposal is nothing else than utopia.

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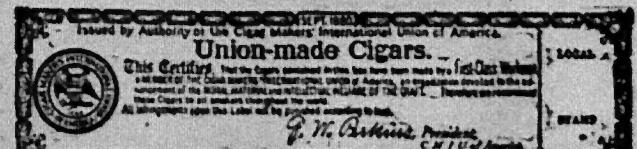
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order to do this you must, when needed repairs are necessary, have them repaired in a union repair shop. Make it your business to find out if there is a union repair shop in your locality before having your repairing done elsewhere. When the union label is worn from the first sole see that it is replaced with a new sole put on by union shoe repairers.

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Socialists Make Tremendous Gains in Europe

BERLIN.—The splendid Socialist victories in the recent state legislative elections in Saxony and Baden were followed by more surprises in the municipal elections throughout Germany. In a number of cities the capitalist parties combined against the Socialists, but failed to benefit themselves very much by doing so.

By no means, say we. We shall only bring about a race of talkers who will cast such discredit upon the Socialist movement that it will take a generation to recover from it.

Revolutionary Socialism does not consist in talking revolution.

Revolutionary Socialism consists in urging forward the revolutionizing tendencies that operate within capitalist society itself.

It consists in understanding the immediate needs of the working people, which cannot be satisfied without profoundly modifying the existing order, and giving expression to them in a series of immediate demands.

It consists in an effective agitation for these same immediate demands, in rousing the slumbering energies of the working class, in urging forward its more backward and laggard elements, in pointing out the shortcomings of bourgeois reform, and in uniting the entire working class in a resolute movement for the realization of these immediate demands.

And the immediate demands of the workers in this country are so revolutionary in their nature that they only have to be properly formulated and persistently agitated in order to bring about such a tremendous forward movement as has never been witnessed on this continent.

The workers demand that their indiscriminate and wanton slaughter in the factories and mines and on the railways shall cease. The workers demand a comprehensive system of factory legislation, carried out by an honest and efficient staff of factory inspectors. The workers demand a limitation of their working day, particularly of the working day of women and children.

The workers demand an employers' liability law that shall do away with the mockeries of the "fellow-servant rule," "assumption of risk," and "contributory negligence."

The workers demand that the treasures of their unions shall not be subject to raids by their enemies.

The results of the second ballot in the landtag elections in Baden were quite as remarkable as those of the first, and the Socialists won eight more seats, bringing the total up to twenty.

In order to prevent the Center and Conservatives obtaining a majority the National Liberals and the Socialists came to a working arrangement in the second ballot. Where the Socialists were fighting Conservatives or Center (Clerical party), the Socialists received the support of the National Liberals, and where the National Liberals were fighting Center or Conservatives the Socialists supported the Liberals. It will be very interesting to watch the doings of this new landtag, because the Socialists are the strongest individual party in the majority, composed of National and Freisinnige Liberals, Democrats and Socialists, with which the government will have to work, and our party will be able to exercise a powerful influence on legislation and administration. The Liberals are being severely criticised for associating themselves with the Socialists, but it was the only course left open to them to avoid a complete rout at the polls.

Upon the basis of immediate demands like these we shall surely be able, with the exercise of patience, common sense and good tact, to unite practically the entire working class of this country without surrendering for one moment the one great demand of International Socialism. We shall then be acting in the true spirit of Revolutionary Socialism.

The present powers of the national government, and of the courts, are much greater than they were originally. They were extended in obedience to the demands of the growing capitalist class.

Now, in obedience to the demands of the working class, these powers will have to be further extended in one case and abridged in another. Political evolution has not come to a dead stop, but will continue in accordance with the needs of a new rising class and of social progress.

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In the Saxon landtag elections the Socialists captured nine more seats in the second ballot, so that there are now twenty-five Socialists returned to the landtag. This remarkable success is beyond all expectations; at twenty-five points the Saxon Socialists have broken down the barriers of a very bad plural voting system by sheer weight of numbers. The new landtag is made up as follows: Twenty-eight Conservatives, twenty-eight National Liberals, twenty-five Socialists, eight Freisinnige Liberals, one Reformer, one Peasants' Union.

There was only one Socialist in the last landtag, and the Conservatives had a good working majority over all other parties combined, but their power is now broken.

Frances Willard said that the problem was POVERTY, not DRINK.

Read "COUNTY OPTION," by Senator Gaylord, just published, and find out.

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tal, but it is greater than the increase in the number of workers. In other words, the purpose and effect of the accumulation of capital is to increase the amount of product per workman.

The increase of product is also greater than the increase of total wages. Taking the capitalist period as a whole, rates of wages have increased; during some portions of this period they have increased rapidly, at other times more slowly, at some times remaining stationary, or even falling. But never for any considerable time do wage rates rise so rapidly as to cause the increase of total wages to equal the increase in the product. Should they do so, the effect would be to check the accumulation of capital, so checking the growth of opportunities of employment, and thus sending wages down again. Consequently, not only do the capitalists share in an ever larger product, but they get an ever larger proportion of this larger product.

The fact of a slowly declining rate of interest is often misinterpreted as indicating a reduction in the capitalists' share of the product and an increase in the workers' share. It indicates nothing of the sort, for (a) interest is drawn upon an amount of capital which is growing more rapidly than the rate of production rises; (b) the rate of production is rising more rapidly than the rate of interest falls; (c) a decline in the rate of interest does not prevent rise in the rate of profit—i. e., the rate of return to direct possessors of capital; and (d) rent rises simultaneously with the decline in the rate of interest. In fact, the total income of the capitalists increases more rapidly than the total income of the wage workers, and it absorbs the greater part of the increase of product. So rapid is this growth of capitalist income that the need for an ever larger reinvestment does not prevent the capitalists from having an ever increasing revenue left to be spent in luxury. On the contrary, in recent years, the great complaint of the capitalist class as a whole has no longer been how to get enough for the necessary increase of capital, but how to find sufficient opportunities for profitable investment.

Reinvestment and Capitalist Consumption.—The capitalist may consume his income—i. e., spend it in luxury, philanthropy, etc.; he may use it in increasing his capital—i. e., reinvest it, usually by the purchase of stocks and bonds, or as is generally the case, he may divide it between the two purposes. The ratio in which the income of the capitalist class as a whole is divided varies continually under many influences. Census statistics for 1890-1900 indicate that about one-fifth of the capitalist income from the manufacturing industries in the United States was reinvested in those industries; besides this, a considerable amount was undoubtedly invested in commercial, financial, railway, mining, and other enterprises in the United States, and another portion in capitalist enterprises of various kinds in more backward countries—Mexico, South America, Russia, China, etc.

When capitalists as a whole tend to reinvest too much of their income, the rate of return on capital falls abnormally and discourages further investment; when they tend to reinvest too little, the rate of return rises and encourages more liberal investment. Thus the accumulation of capital regulates itself in proportion to the opportunities presented by technical and social development, in such a manner as to give the capitalists the largest possible share of the product.

Organization of Capitalist Ownership.—In the beginning, capitalist property was individual property in the full sense, implying also individual control. But with the growing need for larger rates of interest, first in foreign commerce, then in machine industry, came partnerships and then joint stock companies. The latter is now the general form of capitalist organization for industry, commerce, finance, and even to an increasing extent for holding real estate.

Persons forming a company receive stocks in proportion to the capital they put in. Membership is impersonal, depending on ownership of stocks, which may be bought and sold at will. The company's business is transacted by a directorate, elected by and acting for the membership. The members' voting power and share of the profits are proportionate to the stocks they own. Members are not individually responsible for the company's debts beyond the amount of their respective stocks.

The capital thus furnished by stockholders and owned by the company is commonly supplemented by capital which the company borrows

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References:
Marx or Hyndman, as before.

Questions for Review:

1. What is capital? Distinguish between capital and means of production.
2. What governs wages? What effect does a cheapening of food and clothing tend to have upon wage rates?
3. What is surplus value? What is the relation between product, wages, and surplus value?

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We want and must sell 500 shares of the stock of the Social-Democratic Publishing Company IMMEDIATELY. This is to be used to help pay indebtedness incurred last summer, caused by several very dull months, to help pay our regular deficit, to help pay for a large, new stock of Socialist books and pamphlets which we published, and to help establish our new Polish weekly, *NAPRZOD*. Besides the above, the Neacy suit will cost the publishing company a great deal of money. To raise this sum we will give a fine set of books free in return for a little of your time. It is the Library of Original Sources. Ten massive volumes, valued at more than \$50 per set.

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In addition to our regular deficit this slump made it bad for us. But this slump is not the only thing to bother us. Tom Neacy feels hurt and wants \$10,000 damages from the *HERALD*. This lawsuit will put us to a lot of additional expense.

Besides, we have just started to publish a new Polish weekly. This also means an additional burden. Still we could not postpone getting out this paper. The Polish Comrades have demanded it for years.

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Capitalism and Dividing Up

We Must Judge the System By Its Fruits

How Our Capitalists Are Dividing Up the Jobs of the Workers, and Making Hoboes and Tramps of the Jobless. Breaking Up the Homes.

By William Henry Ferber

(Written for the HERALD.)

CAPITALISM has TRICKS in its trade, and the great capitalists of industry know how to pit one set of workers against another set, and how to pit the jobless ones against those who have jobs at present.

Those who have jobs today are out of jobs tomorrow, and the jobless ones of yesterday and of today may have the jobs of the workers on the morrow. The worker who is let out today is told that there is no work at present and won't be for several months to come; so he leaves his happy home, if he has one, and travels toward Seattle. He walks, to save carfare; and so he becomes a hobo or a tramp. But at Seattle the same game prevails as in Sacramento, or in Los Angeles, and so the discharged worker or jobless man meets a hobo from Seattle, who is walking into Sacramento, and failing to find work there, walks to Oakland; then drifts across to San Francisco; and failing to find a job there, plods on toward Los Angeles, and on to San Diego.

Failing to find work he drifts back to Frisco or Portland, and finally gets back to the starting point, still workless, jobless, moneyless, spiritless, hopeless.

Now, the master class, who own your job and your tools, often hold out promises to the jobless workers that work will be given "next week," or "next month." Sometimes they "come true" or "make good," and the jobless get a job.

The worker who had a job and lost it, does not stop to investigate and ascertain who is working in his place, or whether the machines or tools which he used are idle or whether another worker has taken up the burden where he laid it down; for he is too busy looking

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Every Saturday

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD
Published by the
MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

344 Sixth Street Milwaukee, Wis.

FREDERIC HEATH VICTOR L. BERGER
Editor Associate

*The Herald is Not Responsible for Opinions of its Contributors.**Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.*

Entered at the Milwaukee Post Office as Second-Class Matter, August 30, 1901.

The Master Thieves!

If the capitalistic exploiters were translated to the New Jerusalem they would steal the jasper gates from their hinges and the gold with which the streets are paved, and then debauch heaven's supreme court to obtain a decision that the command "thou shalt not" is unconstitutional.—Debs.

Justice, the organ of the Social-Democratic Federation of England, is now talking of establishing a daily paper. So is the Independent Labor party (Socialist).

W. J. Ghent has resigned as secretary of the Rand School in New York city, and Algermon Lee, former editor of the *New York Worker* and *Daily Call*, succeeds him.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which has been stimulating propaganda for our cause at the various universities and colleges, has issued some attractive folders for the fall of 1909, which college and high school students will do well to write for. Address W. J. Ghent, 112 East Nineteenth street, New York city.

Boston, Nov. 27.—The official report of the vote cast in this state at the election held on the 2d inst., shows that Dan A. White, Socialist party candidate for governor, polled 10,137 votes as against 10,787 for Debs in 1908.

The highest vote for any of the Socialist party candidates was 12,304, cast for John Weaver Sherman, who ran for attorney-general.

Swedish Strike Bulletin

From the national office of the Socialist party there has been sent to date, Nov. 27, to the office of the strikers in Sweden, the sum of \$5,710,67. Comrade Tholin, the representative of the Swedish strikers, was cordially received at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Toronto, and the convention ordered a special circular to be sent to all affiliated organizations stating the importance of the strike and urging upon the members immediate and generous support for the same.

The Free Speech Fight in Spokane, Wash.

SPOKANE, Wash.—Mrs. Fennett, wife of an industrial worker of this city, is now in jail for greeting the arrested workers yesterday, Sunday. As the policemen were marching some of the men imprisoned in the old deserted school building to the city jail for their weekly bath, a number of the prisoners' friends gathered along the route to greet the prisoners and

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. The Christian Socialist is unique among Socialist papers because it is both revolutionary and religious, both scientific and ethical in its appeal and makes its plea particularly strong to religious men. It has won hundreds of ministers and other religious people to Socialism. It is intensely interesting to all classes of people. Many agnostics declare it to be the best propaganda paper in the Socialist movement.

It is entirely non-sectarian and interdenominational, working among people of all creeds. There have been a number of notable special editions, among them a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Methodist, a Protestant Episcopal, a Temperance and a Catholic Special. You need it yourself and for propaganda. You will bring you several sample copies, 50c pay for a whole year. Address 5629 Drexel avenue, Chicago.

NEW! A pamphlet has just left the press and is for sale at this office; which will cause much sensation:

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What is the Matter With American Socialism

By Robert Hunter

(Written for the HERALD.)
LN 1850 Karl Marx resigned from the Socialist organization of that time.

That is a striking fact. That the father of modern Socialism should have dissociated himself with Socialists is a striking fact, significant fact.

He wrote the Socialists a declaration stating his position and requesting that it be inserted in the Minutes.

His reason for this act he stated as follows: "Just as the Democrats make a sort of fetish of the words, 'the people' so you make one of the word 'proletariat.' Like them you substitute revolutionary phrases for revolutionary evolution."

Liebknecht speaks of a small section of the German party as practicing a "hyper-revolutionary dress-parade Socialism," addressing itself exclusively "to the horny-handed sons of toil."

Both these significant statements are reminiscent of the early struggle to clarify Socialist doctrine and to define Socialist tactics.

The first feeble efforts to form a Socialist movement were made by hyper-revolutionary sectarians dealing in phrases and appealing to the proletariat.

When Socialism really became a movement it passed out of the sectarian stage and became working-class in instinct and in personnel.

Revolution by phrase disappeared. The word proletarian was less frequently heard. The movement had BECOME proletarian and no longer from the outside addressed itself to "wage-slaves" and "proletarians." It then spoke of Socialism as OUR struggle for the emancipation of OUR class.

Democrats make a fetish of "the people" because the leaders have become privileged bosses. The early Socialist made a fetish of the word

"proletariat" because they were largely men from another class.

It was a dress-parade Socialism, useful, doubtless, in the beginning but when the workers themselves became aroused they dropped the fetish.

There were no more dress-parades. But there was a movement of the workers themselves appealing to their OWN class to arouse itself to action. Revolutionary action took the place of revolutionary phrases; battle lines the place of dress-parades.

And today, wherever there is most talk, there is usually least action. Wherever the "proletariat" is fetish he is also largely conspicuous by his absence.

Indeed, wherever the movement is unhealthy, it is composed chiefly of professional "proletarians." Wherever the movement is really revolutionary and actually fighting the class struggle it knows how to use brains as well as beef.

The Italian movement is dominated by professional "proletarians," who are nearly always intellectuals in disguise. Its phrases are revolutionary, its action weak and unstable.

The British Labor party is working-class. It has no revolutionary phrases, but plenty of revolutionary action.

The czar travels safely in Italy, arm in arm with the king. The Socialists pass terrible resolutions, give vent to terrible phrases and threaten terrible acts.

The czar and king motor through the country, shoot game in the woodlands, and dine very comfortably indeed.

Revolutionary phrases do not distract them in the least, but when the czar wanted to visit England he wisely gave up that project. The fact is he dared not put his foot on British soil.

So we say again, down with the

The German movement is working-class. It talks little nowadays about Internationalism. It is so little given to revolutionary phrases that some Socialists are alarmed for fear it has become a mere appendage of Liberalism.

Yet when the Swedish strike broke out it sent hundreds of thousands of dollars with all speed and dispatch to succor "those foreign comrades battling for life."

A group of brilliant lawyers and professors gather in Paris, smile at "parliamentarianism" and "German Socialism" and write stunning revolutionary articles on the general strike.

They are very revolutionary in phrases. As professional "proletarians," they hold, of course, many revolutionary demonstrations. But the workers of Sweden in their life and death struggle look more to the Socialist workers of little Denmark for aid in revolutionary action than to all the "professional syndicates" of France and Italy.

The syndicates call the working class of Denmark, Germany and Sweden, reformist. Herre calls their organizations dues-paying machines. And it is true, Sweden has no PROFESSIONAL proletarians writing books on the general strike but IT IS THE FIRST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD TO PARALYZE FOR MONTHS THE ENTIRE INDUSTRIAL LIFE OF A GREAT NATION BY USE OF THE GENERAL STRIKE.

We are today discussing all over the country what the trouble is with the American movement. Is it not worth considering that perhaps the trouble is due to the fact that the American movement has not yet become the voice and soul of organized labor—that "the proletarian" is merely a fetish, the class struggle a creed and revolution an empty phrase?

tive enterprises of the Socialists make things, not for the profit of a manufacturer, but for the use of the people.

That is the way all things will be when the Socialists get to do things.

And while we cannot tell you just how all these things will be done, because nobody can see the future, we know that there will be a way found to free women from the slave's labor which now uses up her strength and health.

Rid of these burdens, women will not only be healthier, but they will have more leisure for reading and self-improvement. And they will have so much more time for the education of the little questioning children who now always seem to be in the way. Thus the new era will give us wiser, more intelligent and more careful mothers.

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enterprises of the Socialists make things, not for the profit of a manufacturer, but for the use of the people.

That is the way all things will be when the Socialists get to do things.

And while we cannot tell you just how all these things will be done, because nobody can see the future, we know that there will be a way found to free women from the slave's labor which now uses up her strength and health.

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TELEPHONE—GRAN 1742



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the out-of-work problem, and recommended that the request be granted. Approved.

A letter from the from Molders of Waterloo, Ia., asking moral support in their strike against the Waterloo Gasoline Engine company was read and the delegates were instructed to report the matter back to their unions. The firm not only sells to retailers, but does a mail-order business.

On motion the report of the executive board was adopted as a whole and its recommendations concurred in.

A communication was read from the United Garment Workers, St. Louis, Mo., complaining that the Marx & Haas Clothing Co. had locked out its workmen, and reporting that the firm of Jandt & Bluemel, Milwaukee, handled their goods. On motion the request that the firm be seen, was granted and the business agent was instructed to wait on the firm.

Bro. Schwab of the Molders, brought up the Auditorium and the West Side Turn hall matter.

Moved that the council notify the unions not to allow their members to work under any circumstances at the Auditorium or West Side Turn hall. A point of order was sustained to the effect that the former action must first be reconsidered.

Moved to reconsider the action taken at the last meeting. Lost 53 to 53.

Moved that the Building Trades section be not allowed to have its men work in the two buildings, who were alleged to be playing with non-union bands. The board recommended that it was the sense of the council that any members of any organization playing music for remuneration should become members of the Musicians' Union. On motion the report was concurred in.

The board, at its regular meeting, decided to ask for a committee of three each from the File Drivers and Machinery Movers and the Lake Seamen and Truck Drivers to be present at its meeting next Sunday, when the working agreement is to be drawn up. Approved. On the recommendation of the executive board the council ordered a circular letter from a labor spy company printed in the official organ [it will appear in the next issue].

A communication from the Railway Federated Trades, Galion, Pa., was read to council and the council recommends that unions contribute as liberally as possible to the expense to the lock-out on the Buffalo & Susquehanna railway. A communication announcing the annual ball of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, at the Hippodrome, Saturday, Dec. 4. The proceeds to go to pay sick and accident benefits.

On motion the secretary was instructed to purchase twenty-five copies of the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor convention.

The board reported that Secretary Brockhausen of the State Federation of Labor had requested the executive board to meet jointly with the executives of the state federation, the Label section, the Metal Trades section, the Building Trades section and the state commissioner of labor, on Dec. 16, for the purpose of assisting in the investigation of

RECEIPTS FOR THE EVENING.

Garment Workers' District Council, rent	\$3.00
Sign Painters, 922	6.00
Hoisting and Portable Engineers, 139	1.80
Total	\$10.80
DISBURSEMENTS.	
Executive Board, two meetings	\$0.50
F. J. Weber, salary	50.00
F. J. Weber, office expenses	6.85
J. Reichert, postage	1.60
E. T. Melms, delegate to Toronto, balance	14.30
Co-operative Printery	3.50
Co-operative Printery	4.50
S.-D. Herald, adv.	1.50
Total	\$105.55

The council then adjourned.

Frederick Heath, Rec. Secy.

Must Make New Start

Fellow Workmen! Comrades!

The "Arbeiter Bildungs Verein" (Workmen's Educational Association), Elizabeth, organized February 18th, this year, was made homeless by a terrible calamity. Its headquarters, which at the same time was also the headquarters of several branches of the Socialist party the Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 27, the Cremation Society of the United States, Branch 24, the Socialist Liedertafel, the Socialist Women's Society, Branch 6, and a number of other progressive organizations and societies, was completely destroyed by fire on October 26th. The fire originated in a saloon located in front of our club house, and spread to our halls. The Association not only lost its entire inventory, but all the results and labors of months of hard and sincere work by many of its members, were destroyed.

The association carried no insurance. We rented the halls at a low figure for two years, but had considerable expenditures in connection with repairs, putting the halls in shape, installing fixtures, bowling alleys, etc. Only after things were properly shaped, could we take up the matter of insuring our belongings. Arrangements were being made with the agent of a local insurance company, and during the same night the fire broke out, resulting in the loss of everything we possessed.

There is nothing for us to do now but to make a new start, which, however, will be hard on us, since we will be compelled to suffer our loss in addition to meeting the many obligations we are still under. We alone are not in a position to do this, which makes it necessary for us to appeal to the solidarity of your worthy organization for aid. No matter how small your share may be, we hope to be able to at least partly recover our loss.

Organized Labor



Caption: "Workingmen demand their rights. Outrageous! I'll get an injunction."

the executive council of the Federation of North American Unions. With the consent of the delegates the international secretary, A. Metzschke, declared: The American comrades have no reason to disdain us. During the long struggle in North America, not even one blackleg has arrived from Europe. This example of solidarity may prove to the American comrades how useful it is to adhere to our international organization."

Union Barber Shops

U P - T O - D A T E

The following is a list of Union Barber Shops—See that your shop is on the list, or look up another.

West Side.

Anstermann, A. 559 3rd st. c. Walnut Street, Henry, 48th and State.

Beisner, J. C. 67 7th st. Beisner, Chas., 488 11th st.

Bonyha, A. 343 3d st. Breyer, Ben., 2421 Walnut.

Burclow, Otto, 331 Clinton street.

Ebert, J. 48 30th st.

Felscheer, J. P. 1422 Walnut st.

Frey, Adam, 1330 Cherry.

Frey, Michael, to Sycamore street.

Golz, Robt., 2102 Fond du Lac Ave.

Hammer, E. C. 141 North av.

Hensche, Albert, 2152 North av.

Henkel, Henry, 279 27th st.

Hilse, Chas., 503 Chestnut st.

Holzapfel, Peter, 1011 Winnebago.

Huber, Hans, 470 11th st.

Jungman, L. 825 9th st.

Kaufmann, Adam, 609 Chestnut

Klingler, D. 192 Chambers St.

Kohl, John Jr., 2623 Bismarck ave.

Koenigs, G. 1103 Chestnut street.

Nickerson, D. V. 1320 State street.

Mundt, H. C. 168 Lloyd st.

O'Haire, Geo. J. 501 12th st.

Petri, Richard, 212 Clybourn st.

Polaski, J. 014 35th st.

Reinke, Val. 1531 Cherry st.

Unel, R. 20th and Grand Av.

Schenk, Carl, 233 State st.

Schuler, Herman, 120 Chestnut

Schmidt, John, 1308 Cherry.

Schoenecker, F. 1726 Walnut

Sery, J. 2818 Clybourn st.

Utnur, G. 627 Grant Av.

Urban, George, 2061 Union av.

Willehansen, J. C. 411 3rd st.

Wittenberg, F. 515 Grand av.

Youngh &



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Reineck Bros.
Cor. 12th and Lloyd Sts.

State Secretary's Financial Report for October.

RECEIPTS.

Dues from Milwaukee County.

to of Milwaukee..... \$15.00

Jewish branch of Milwaukee..... 3.00

Danish branch of Milwaukee..... 3.00

1 of Silver Spring..... 2.25

Jewish branch of Milwaukee..... 6.00

2 of Milwaukee..... 12.00

9 of Milwaukee..... 9.00

21 of Milwaukee..... 21.00

20 of Milwaukee..... 9.00

6 of West Allis..... 6.00

Hungarian branch of Milwaukee..... 3.00

Jewish branch of Milwaukee..... 3.00

3, 4, and 7 of Milwaukee..... 4.00

22 of Milwaukee..... 18.00

16 of Milwaukee..... 3.00

6 of Milwaukee..... 6.00

8 of Milwaukee..... 3.00

9 of Milwaukee..... 6.00

Hungarian Branch of Milwaukee..... 3.00

Finnish branch of Milwaukee..... 11.00

11 of Milwaukee..... 27.00

So. Slavonian branch of Milw..... 11.70

\$205.55

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WANTED—Orders for "Socialism Made Plain," fourth edition. This office.

WANTED—BRANCHES and other societies to purchase their Skar and Schafkopf Score Cards, bearing the union label, from us. Fifteen cents a dozen. COOPERATIVE PRINTERY, 311 Sixth St.

WANTED—To do addressing for societies, clubs, etc. Low prices, quick service. RAPID ADDRESSING CO., 311 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

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OPEN EVENINGS. THIRD AND NATIONAL AVES.



At the Davidson.

At the Theaters Next Week

Davidson.
Charles Frohman has given Francis Wilson an excellent supporting company for his new comedy-farce, "The Bachelor's Baby," which the comedian wrote for his own use, including Clarence Handyside, Franklin Roberts, Robert Connell, E. Soldene Powell,

Harold Merriam, Edna Bruns, Lilian Lawrence, Helen Strickland, May Davis and Baby Davis, who is one of the brightest and most precocious of stage children. Francis Wilson will be at the Davidson theater for an engagement of three performances.

Miss Billie Burke, one of the newest and also one of the most popular of Charles Frohman's many stars, will be seen at the Davidson theater for a half week, beginning Thursday, Dec. 9, in "Love Watches," an exquisite comedy adapted from the French, in which she scored a notable success at the Lyceum theater, New York, last season.

Bijou.

"St. Elmo," by Willard Holcomb, will have its first presentation in this city beginning with Sunday matinee at the Bijou theater tomorrow. There is much human interest in the story of a contest between the old and the new South. The principal roles being played by

In this connection it may be of interest to many HERALD readers to see in these columns a few lines about the special committee on industrial insurance appointed by the last legislature of Wisconsin.

Up to this time this committee has had many sessions and taken much testimony. The bulk of the

seen in George Ade's clever playlet, "The Mayor and the Manicure," which tells the story of an attempt by a manicure girl to blackmail the mayor of a city whose son has been attentive to her during his college days. Mr. Holt is a big favorite in Milwaukee and will be warmly welcomed.

Athambra.

One of the most entertaining musical plays of the past decade is "The Girl in the Grandstand," announced for presentation at the Alhambra theater for the week starting

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Fifth Grand Mammoth Prize Social-Democratic Mask Carnival

Saturday Eve., January 29

Make No Other Appointments for This Date

Hippodrome

Wells Street, Between Sixth and Seventh Streets.

\$300.00 IN PRIZES CASH AND MERCHANDISE

Prize Contestants Must Be on the Floor Promptly at 9:30 P. M.

Admission 25c each Person At the door 50c

Stupendous! Magnificent! Spectacular! Unrivaled!

Our Masquerades in the past were the finest ever seen in Milwaukee. We will endeavor to surpass all other Carnivals and make this the one grandest, biggest and most gigantic show of all. Entertainment of the highest class—orderly, polite, clean, moral.

Don't Miss This One!

Greater Than Ever!

Town Topics by the Town Crier

Will L. B. please send the letter referred to this office?

A Pittsburgh survey for Milwaukee ought to show up a few things, we guess!

The hold-up of the county treasury seems to spring eternal from the old-party breast.

Of one thing we feel quite sure. Prof. Selinger's job with Rockefeller's Chicago university is safe!

With a wily chief and an Ald. Weiley locking horns, the people can afford to sit up and take notice.

The Printers' union had a most attractive exhibit at the Auditorium this week, in connection with the Industrial Education convention.

It is amusing to see how industriously a certain "reform" morning paper seeks out anti-Socialist stuff for its columns to please the fellows up on the hill.

Ald. Seidel gave the chief's "official report" a deserved cuff at the committee meeting last Tuesday. The chief always figures that he can win out by springing some "off-

cial" records—no matter how or when those records may be put together.

Street car patrons are loud in their protests against street car congestion morning and evening on Reed street, due to the bridge and the railway crossing. Yesterday morning the street cars were delayed 35 minutes, and people going to work were doubtless docked in consequence.

Supervisor Moerschel has introduced a resolution in the Milwaukee County Board which provides for an appropriation by the county of \$5,000 to assist an effort to establish a free or penny lunch system for poor children who attend the public schools. Mr. Moerschel is a member of the cigarmakers' union. After investigation, he finds a necessity exists for establishing free lunches for "thousands of our school children."—Typographical Journal.

So far, so good, but the disgraceful fact remains that Injunctionomiac Neacy brandished his incessant threat of taking it into the courts and frightened enough old party supervisors to kill the measure. What is done in this town must be by permission of Millionaire Neacy!

This Prof. Selinger of the Chicago university, who gave a free school lecture at the North Side High school Tuesday evening, is a Jim Dandy. "The workingmen enjoy better housing, better food and more of it, better clothing and more of it, today than they did fifty years ago." To this he added the astonishing lie that the wages of industrial workers "have greater purchasing power than they ever had."

This kind of verbal soothing syrup is just the sort of thing that successful old thief, Oily John Rockefeller, had in mind when he turned over a few spoonfuls of his thievery from the people to found the Chicago university.

Every workingman FEELS that the words of the Chicago professor are cruelly false. He does not even need to go to statistics, he FEELS in his daily experience the increased exploitation to which he and his dear ones are subjected by the present system. It is almost incomprehensible that a professor would dare to talk such stuff in the face of the universally admitted fact that the cost of living is way up, and that the purchasing power of the workers' wages is way down!

Here is a letter from a reader that was mislaid at the time of its receipt, but which is "better late than never."

"I noticed that you have almost the same idea about the State Fair that I have. You say that 50 cents is pretty near a hold-up. Well, that is not it alone, they advertise about the different FREE attractions in front of the grandstand, and if you do not pay another 25 or 50 cents, you can't see very much of those FREE attractions. Now, I think everybody ought to be entitled to see those FREE attractions. I think that anybody going to the grandstand pays for the seat not for the attractions. They ought to have it so that if you wished to

stand you could see everything and if you wish to sit, then you pay. That I would call FREE attractions."

"I wrote to one of the daily papers about those FREE attractions they advertised a few days before the fair and after that they cut out the FREE and only said attractions, and I wrote them that I would like them to print a few words about it and give the State Fair managers a hint, but they did not mention a word about it. I think if they would try and do more for the people the people would do more for the fair. All they want is 50 cents to get to the park, and when they get you in the park they want the rest that you have in your pocket, and why don't they try to get one fare on the John L. Beggs line to the park instead of two fares. It is all right when there is nothing going on in the park to ask two fares, but for the State Fair one fare would be enough. But the papers do not say a word about that. They only say about the FREE attractions, for which you have to pay when you get there."

"The gradual rise of the cities of Christendom is one of the most interesting and significant things in written history. Socialists should post up on it. Send a nickel for copy to 'Socialism and the Cities' by William R. Gaylor, this office. Twenty-five for a dollar."

"Mention the HERALD to all our advertisers."

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